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AN ARAMAIC FRAGMENT OF THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

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THE Apocryphal Books left relatively few traces in Jewish literature. Still there is evidence that some of the books at least were current in Spain in the 12th and 13th centuries in Syriac texts transcribed into Hebrew characters.¹ Of such transliterations of a book of the Peshiṭa we have a much earlier specimen in the so called Targum on Proverbs. Of the Apocryphal Books only one small text of the kind has come down to us in tolerable completeness, namely, the story of Bel and the Dragon which has been published by Neubauer as an appendix to the *Book of Tobit, a Chaldee text*, Oxford 1878.²

¹ Under this category we cannot count the quotation from the Peshiṭa on Psalms which Ibn Aḳnin in his commentary on Canticles mentions in the name of Maṣliāḥ ben El-Basak. The latter had been sent by the Gaon Hai to inquire from the Catholicos how his Syriac version translated Psalm 141 5. The reading given מִשְׁחָא רִישִׁי לֹא עָכִי רִישִׁי (Neubauer, *Notice sur la Lexicographie Hébraïque*, p. 168, 171) was evidently gathered from a Syriac copy in the possession of the Catholicos. The reading of the word עָכִי Neubauer declares doubtful. Steinschneider reads it עַד and Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, II, 1863, p. 152—3, note **, corrects it into נָר; our Peshiṭa reads ܡܫܚܐ ܪܝܫܝ ܠܐ ܥܚܝܝܐ ܪܝܫܝܐ (The *Peshitah Psalter*, ed. Barnes, Cambridge 1904, p. 215).

Steinschneider does not mention these references to the Peshiṭa in his collection of quotations from the Vulgate and other Christian translations, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. 37, Breslau 1893, p. 230—231.

² Compare Nöldeke, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1879, p. 64.

Nahmanides knew similar texts of the book of Judith and the Wisdom of Solomon. Of the former he has a quotation (chap. 17, 8, 11) which he curiously ascribes to a Susanna Scroll. He says in his commentary on Deuteronomy 21 14³:

כמו שכתוב במגלת שושן ושדר 7 ספרי; בספרי; מלכא; וסל;
 מלכא דאתור על כולהון עמוריא. חא מלכא; חסע; וסל; וסל;
 דנינוה ועל כל דעמין על יד ... סחא חא; חסע; חא; וסל;
 ימא ועל עמורא דכרמלא ודגלעד סחא. סחא חסע; וסל; וסל;
 ואהפיו פתגמא דנכוכד נצר ספרי; וסל; ... 11 סל; וסל;
 כולהון עמוריא דארעא ולא סל; וסל; בספרי; מלכא
 תדחלון מיניה. מלכא; חסע; וסל; וסל; ...
סל; וסל; וסל;

Of the Wisdom of Solomon Nahmanides offers a more extended quotation (chapter 7 5–8, 17–21) in the introduction to his commentary⁴:

וראיתי הספר המתורגם הנקרא 5 סל; וסל; וסל; וסל; וסל;
 חכמתא רבא דשלמה וכתוב בו סל; וסל; וסל; וסל; וסל;
 ולא ממתום הות תולדתא חדיתא סל; וסל; וסל; וסל; וסל;
 למלך או לשליט דחדיו מעלנא סל; וסל; וסל; וסל; וסל;
 דכל נש לעלמא ומפקאנא שויאת סל; וסל; וסל; וסל; וסל;

³ I quote from a beautiful fifteenth century MS. of the Seminary Library compared with the three incunabula editions going back to different MSS., Rome before 1480, Lisbon 1489, Naples 1490. Compare Brüll, *Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, Frankfurt a. M. 1877, vol. iii, p. 6, note 12. The Syriac is found in Lagarde's edition, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, Leipzig 1861, p. 104–5, and Ceriani's photolithographic reproduction of the Ambrosianus, fol. 218 recto.

⁴ According to Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, Hamburg 1715, vol. i, p. 1047, Muhlius reprinted a corrected text of this passage according to a MS. His book however is inaccessible to me. I follow Ceriani fol. 139 verso in the Syriac text which in a few minutiae agrees more closely with Nahmanides' version than Lagarde.

⁵ Grimm, *Das Buch der Weisheit erklärt*, Leipzig 1860, p. 9, understands this word to mean "translated" instead of "written in Aramaic" as Voisin rightly put it (*Observationes*, in Raymund Martini, Pugio Fidei, Leipzig 1687, p. 126); "vidi librum Caldaice descriptum." See the text quoted in note 7.

חדיו מטול כן צלית ואתייבית
 לי רוחא דחכמתא וקרית ואתת
 לי רוחא דאידעתא צבית בה יתיר
 מן שבטא וכורסוותא (אמר כי לא
 מדבר תהיה תולדת מיוחדת למלך
 או לשליט אחד הוא ביאת כל
 איש לעולם ויציאה שוה לכלם
 יחד ובעבור כן התפללתי ונתן לי
 רוח חכמה וקראתי ובא לי רוח
 דעת בחרתי בה יותר מן השבט
 והכסא) ונאמר שם והוא דיהב
 אדעתא דלא לגלותא למידע היכן
 קם עלמא ועובדיהון דמזאלתא
 שוריא ושולמא ומצעתהון דזבני
 שולחפי דזנבותא ודהיכן עבדי
 זבני ריהמהון דשמיא וקבעיהון
 דכוכבא מתנא דבעירא וחיתמא
 דחיותא עזויהון דרוחי ומחשבתהון
 דבני נשא גינסי דנצבתא וחיליהון
 דעקרי כל מדם דכסי וכל מדם
 דגלי ידעית.

ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ
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¹⁷ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ
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¹⁹ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ ܕܠܗܡܐ
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The last verses Nahmanides quotes again in a lecture delivered in the Synagogue at Barcelona about 1265⁶:

כמו שאמר שלמה המלך עליו השלום בספר הנקרא חוכמתא רבתא
 דשלמה ששם כתב והוא בידע אירעתא דנא בגלותא למידע היכן קם
 עלמא ועובדיהון דמזלותא שוריא ושוליתא ומציעתהון דזבניה

⁶ Jellinek, *Rabbi Mose ben Nachman's Dissertation über die Vorzüge der Mosaischen Lehre*, gehalten in der Synagoge zu Barcelona. Zweite Ausgabe, Wien, 1872, p. 22. The passage is not found in the earlier editions and was first published from a MS. by Schorr, *He-Chalutz*, vol. viii, p. 158. The text is very corrupt and is only given here for the sake of completeness.

שולחפניה דזבדותא ד עברין זנבי ריהמיהון דשמיא וקבעיהון
דכוכבי, מתנא דבעירא וחמתא דחגיאתא עזיהון רוחי ומחשבתהון
דבני נשא גינזי דנציבתא וחליהון דעיקרי כל מידם נכסי וכל מידם
דגלי דמות.

We find a more interesting reference to the book of Wisdom in another lecture of Nahmanides dealing with Ecclesiastes which he delivered in Gerona 1266 or 1267 shortly before he left Spain to settle in Palestine.⁷ Here he gives us a clear statement of his opinion of this book and the reason of its non-inclusion in the Canon. Of the authenticity of the book he evidently has not the least doubt. After speaking of the three Solomonic writings of the Bible he continues: "We find another book called The Great Wisdom of Solomon which is written in difficult Aramaic and the Christians have translated it from that language. I believe that this book was not arranged by the Men of Hezekiah, the king of Judah,⁸ but that it went with the Jews to Babylon orally and there they fixed it in their language, for it only contains sayings of wisdom and has not been written by inspiration."

I doubt whether on the basis of these references one is justified in making the sweeping statement⁹ that "the Syriac version of the Apocrypha, transcribed in Hebrew characters, was known among the Jews in Spain."

But in Spain undoubtedly several Aramaic texts were current under the name of Solomon, and in the Zohar we find various references to such books. In one instance the Zohar quotes a passage which is ascribed expressly to the Book of Wisdom of Solomon but which probably belongs to a different circle of literature. The passage runs thus:

7 דרשת הרמב"ן על דברי קהלת, ed. A. Z. Schwartz, Vienna 1913, p. 9: ומצינו עוד ספר שנקרא חכמתא רבתא דשלמה והוא בלשון תרגום חמור מאד והגויים העתיקו[הו] מן הלשון ההוא ואני חושב שלא העתיקוהו אנשי הזקיהו מלך יהודה אלא ירד עמם לבבל על מה ושם אמרוהו בלשונם כי היו חכמות ולא נאמר ברוח הקודש

⁸ Comp. Proverbs 25 1.

⁹ Neubauer, *The Book of Tobit*, Oxford 1878, p. xiv. On the other hand, Dukes' hypothesis, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, Leipzig 1844, p. 33, that Nahmanides became acquainted with the Syriac text of Wisdom in Palestine turns out to be unfounded.

בספרא דחכמתא דשלמה מלכא הכי אמר תלת סימנין אינון.
סימן לעברה ירקון. סימן לשמות מילין. סימן דלא ידע כלום שבוחין.

"A sign for anger is paleness, a sign of foolishness is talk, and a sign of ignorance — boasting".¹⁰

Two quotations from the Wisdom of Solomon which occur in the Zohar Ḥadash are even more foreign in subject-matter to our Wisdom. The first¹¹ runs thus:

דהכי אשכחן בספרא דחכמתא דשלמא מלכא ואלין ארבע כד
מתכנפי בכינופייא במטלניהון משתמעין בכל רקיעא קל מטלניהון
כקל מלאכין סניאין עילאין (דאתקרון) אלף אלפין ורבו רבבן וכהוא
קלא דהוא שמשא חד דמשמש קמיה דמלכא עילאה והוא כנופייא
דאינון מתכנפי בעידנא (דאתי) לאשפעה אליהון טיבו יקר מכלהון.

(For thus we find in the book of the Wisdom of Solomon:)
"And when these four (the חיות of Ezekiel) gather together in their journeys, the noise of their journey is heard in the whole heaven like the voice of many of the high angels who are called (Daniel 7 10) 'thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand' and like the voice of the one servant who serves before the high king. And this gathering of theirs at the time when he is going to make goodness emanate upon them is the most important of all of them."

The second¹² is:

ותנינן בספרא דחכמתא רבה דשלמה שמא דשמיטא מטול שויפא
קרעני דמלכא קושטיא דאטיל ביה בחתמא ועירתא למשלמא תחותיה.

¹⁰ Zohar, Numbers, fol. 193 b. Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, Berlin 1875, p. 13, note, translates the first part "blasse Farbe ist ein Zeichen der Sünde", but the above translation seems more in keeping with the context, in spite of the parallel in the Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 33a end, to which my colleague Dr. Ginzberg drew my attention.

¹¹ Zohar Ḥadash on Gen. 1 9, Salonica 1597, fol. 19 b. The words in brackets are added in later editions.

¹² *ib.* on Gen. 2 7, fol. 32 b seq. The late Dr. Kotkov suggested to me to correct the impossible קרעני into קרומא, the Syriac ܩܪܘܡܐ (see J. Payne Smith, *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford 1903, p. 518) and קושטיא into קשטרא which, he thinks, stands as an equivalent for the Sefira Hekal.

32b—33a Gen. 27. (And we learn in the Book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon:) "It is the divine name Shemita which, on account of the dark ink, the king, the castle puts on the small seal to give him rule under it."

These two passages evidently are derived from a Cabbalistic book which may be identical with the **ספרא דשלמא מלכא** repeatedly quoted in the Zohar. For the sake of completeness I add these passages in a foot note.¹³

¹³ See the list in Zunz, *l. c.*, Steinschneider, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 2288.

A. Zohar I, fol. 7 b:

(אשכחנא בספרא דשלמא מלכא) שמא גלימא דשבעין ותרין שמהן אנליף עלוי בתבין ובנין דאתון באלמא ביתא דאנליף בה אבוי בקדמיתא כד מית פרתו מניה והשתא דאלישע חבק ליה אנליף ביה כל אינון אתון דשבעין ותרין שמהן ואתון דאילין שבעין ותרין שמהן גליפן אינון מאתן ושחמרי אתון וכולו אתון אנליף ברוחיה דאלישע בנין לקימא ליה באתון דשבעין ותרין שמהן וקרא ליה חבקוק.

(In connection with the son of the Shunnamite we find in the book of King Solomon:) "The engraved divine name of 72 names he engraved upon him in the form of words, for the letters of the alphabet which his father had engraved upon him originally had disappeared when he died. Now when Elisha embraced him he engraved all these letters of the 72 names, and the letters of these 72 names which are engraved are 262 letters and all of these letters were engraved by the breath of Elisha in order to revive him with the letters of the 72 names and he called him Habakkuk."

B. *ib.* 13 b:

רוא דגן חמינן בספרא דשלמא מלכא דכל מאן דחם על מסכני ברעותא דלבא לא משתני דיוקניה לעלם מדיוקנא דארם הראשון וכיון דדיוקנא דארם אתרשים ביה שלים על כל בריין דעלמא בההוא דיוקנא דרא הוא דכתיב ומוראכם וחתכם יהיה על כל חית הארץ וגו' כלהו זעין ורחלין מההוא דיוקנא דאתרשים ביה בנין דרא הוא פקודא מעליא לאסתלקא בר נש ברקניה דארם על כל שאר פקודין מנא לן מנבוכדנצר אף על גב דחלם ההוא חלמא כל זמנא דהוא מיתן למסכני לא שרא עליה כיון דאמיל עינא בישא למיתן למסכני מה כתיב עוד מלמא בפום מלכא וגו' מיד אשתני דיוקניה ואמר דן בני נשא.

(This secret we see in the book of King Solomon:) "Whosoever takes pity on the poor whole-heartedly, his countenance will never be changed from the likeness of Adam, and when the countenance of Adam is marked upon him he rules over all the creatures of the world by the power of countenance; that is the meaning of the words 'and the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth' etc. (Genesis 92). They all fear and tremble before this image which is marked on him. For this law (viz. charity) more than any other law helps to bring men into the likeness of Adam. How do we know that? from Nebuchadnezzar; although he dreamt that dream, as long as he took pity on the poor, it did not come upon him. When he looked with an evil eye upon giving

What freedom the Cabbalists permitted themselves in making up "quotations" from the Wisdom of Solomon can best be seen from the Apocalypse prophesying the movement of Sabbatai

alms to the poor then the Bible says (Daniel 4 28), 'To thee it is spoken' etc., at once his countenance changed and he was driven away from men.

The same quotation is found in a Hebrew translation in Meir Ibn Gabbai, תולעת יעקב, in the chapter on the Sukkah as taken from the Book of Solomon's Great Wisdom, ספרא דחכמתא רבתא דשלמה מלכא. See Chones' note in his edition of Abraham ben Elijah Wilna, רב פעלים, Warsaw 1894, p. 63—64.

C. *ib.* I appendix 2 b:

הכי אולפנא בספרא דשלמה מלכא דבליליא בתראה דחנא אי יסתכל בר נש בעלמא דיליה וחזי ליה שלים לא אתגור עלי מיתה.

(We are taught in the book of King Solomon:) "If on the last night of the Feast of Tabernacles one looks at one's shadow and sees it complete, death has not been decreed upon him for that year."

D. *ib.* vol. II, 67 a:

אשכחנא בספרא דשלמה מלכא דכל מאן דארים ידיו לעילא ולא אינון בצלותין ובעותין האי איהו בר נש דאתלטיא מעשרה שלמנין ממנן ואנון עשרה שליטין אשר היו בעיר.

(We find in the book of King Solomon:) "Whoever raises his hand upward but not in prayer and devotion he is a man who is cursed by the ten rulers appointed and they are the 'ten rulers that are in a city' (Ecclesiastes 7 19)."

E. *ib.* 125 a—b:

רוא דספרא דשלמה מלכא . . . תו אשכחן דכל מאן דאכיל היא מכלא דאחחר כהרא או בשעתא דהא או בסעודתא דהא ארבעין יומין אתחזיא גדיא מקלסא בקלפוי לגבי אינון דלעילא וסייעתא מסאבא מתקרבין בהדיה וגרים לאתערא דיגין בעלמא דיגין דלא קרישין ואי אוליד בר באינון יומין אופין ליה נשמתא מסמרא אחרא דלא אצטריכא.

(We find in the book of King Solomon:) "Whoever partakes of such food either mixed (of milk and meat) together, or at the same time or at one meal, for 40 days there appears a kid with a helmet on its skin perceptible only to those above (angels) and a company of the Unholy Side approach him and he thus provokes visitations upon the world, unholy visitations, and if he begets a son during this time they lend him a soul from the Other Side (that of impurity . . .)."

גדי מקולס is the technical term for a kid roasted in its entirety with entrails and lungs on its head like a helmet.

F. *ib.* 139 a:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא אית נו האי מוכח הנחשת דקאמרין ריון עלאין.

In the book of King Solomon there are in reference to this altar of brass secrets about the higher world.

G. *ib.* III, 10 b:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא אמר מכוון די' בקטורא דתלתא דכלילן בקטורא דגופיה חד דחילו דכלא חד סתים שבילין חד גהר עמיקא.

Zevi which was written by the Constantinople preacher Abraham Jakhini and circulated by Sabbatai's prophet Nathan of Gaza as an old quotation from the "Book of the great Wisdom of

(In the book of King Solomon he says:) "The meaning of the Yod with three knots which are contained in its own knot, is one the most awful one (the Sefira Keter), one of hidden paths (the 32 Paths of Wisdom), one of the deep river (the Sefira Binah)."

The text is partly corrected according to a quotation in Meir Ibn Gabbai, דרך אמונה, Berlin 1850, fol. 10 a; בקטורא, is a correction suggested by the late Dr. Kotkov for בקטורא and בקומפין respectively; to him I also owe the interpretation of the Sefiroth.

H. *ib.* 65 b:

ואשכחנא בספרא דשלמה מלכא אשר בקטורא דערינא [נ]קטורא בהברותא עלאה אשתכח.

(And we find in the book of King Solomon:) "The word Asher (אשר) alludes to the combination of the Eden and the Castle in a celestial union."

I. *ib.* 104 a—b:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא אשתכחנא דבשעתא דוונא אשתכח לתתא שרר קב"ה חר דיוקנא כפרצופא דבר נש רשימא חקיקא בצולמא וקיימא על ההוא ווונא ואלמלא אחידב רשו לעינא למחוי חמי בר נש על רישיה חר צולמא רשימא כפרצופא דבר נש ובההוא צולמא אתברי בר נש ועד לא קיימא ההוא צולמא דשרר ליה מאריה על רישיה וישתכח תמן לא אתברי בר נש הרא הוא דכתיב ויברא ה' את האדם בצלמו ההוא צלם אודמן לקבליה עד דנפק לעלמא.

(In the book of King Solomon we find:) "At the time when copulation takes place below, the Lord sends a form like unto the face of a man impressed and engraven in an image, and it hovers over this union, and if the power were given to the eye to see, a man would see over his head an image formed like unto the face of men. By this image man is formed, and when this image which the master sends does not hover over his head and is not found there, man is not formed. This is what the Bible means (Genesis 1 27) 'and God created man in his own image'. This image precedes his entrance into the world".

J. *ib.* 164 a:

בספרא דשלמה מלכא איהו כרקא יאות והכי הוא אדם חוה בקדמיתא ושרה ואברהם סמיך לון יצחק ורבקה לוויא אחרא באורח משר בשורה חרא יעקב ולאה באמצעיתא ואינון נשין לגבי נשין דכוורין לגבי דכוורין ואדם חוה שרה ואברהם יעקב ולאה רבקה ויצחק אדם בספרא דא יצחק בספרא דא יעקב באמצעיתא יצחק לגבי אבוא לאו ארח עלמא.

(In the book of King Solomon the order in which the patriarchs are buried in the cave of Machpelah is given as it ought to be and is this way.) "Adam and Eve first, Sarah and Abraham next to them, Isaac and Rebekkah in the other corner of the straight line in the same row. Jacob and Leah in the middle. Thus women are next to women and men next to men: Adam and Eve, Sarah and Abraham, Jacob and Leah, Rebekkah and Isaac. Adam on the one side and Isaac on the other and Jacob in the middle. Isaac next to his father would not be according to propriety."

Solomon" which he had discovered.¹⁴ It begins: I Abraham, having been in seclusion for 40 years and being worried by the power of the great crocodile which dwells in the Nile and wondering when the end would arrive, heard a voice calling: Lo! a son will be born to Mordecai Zevi in the year 5386 (1626) and he shall call his name Sabbatai. He will humiliate the great crocodile and take away the power of the flying snake and of the crooked snake and he is the true Messiah and he will make war without hands until the donkey will mount the ladder...

The quotations from the Book of Wisdom which I propose to discuss here are quite different in their character from all those mentioned before and I think are much more interesting in many respects. They are found in a commentary on the Zohar which was written in Spain, perhaps in Saragossa, in 1325 and has the title **לבנת הספיר** (Pavement of Sapphire). According to G. Margoliouth¹⁵ the author is Joseph Angelino.

K. Besides these quotations we find in I 225 b a reference to the book of King Solomon, the book which treats of the higher world which he calls the all-inclusive wisdom.

אשכנחא מלי בכפרא דשלמה מלכא ההוא עלאה דקרא ליה עיטא דחכמתא דכלא and III 78 b to the **שלמה עלאה ספרא** for the divine names found in the crown.

L. Finally a quotation belonging to a different kind of book occurs in II, 171 b—172 a.

כנונא דא רמיו בספרא דשלמה מלכא בחכמתא דאבנן יקירן דאי חסר מנהון נגהא דנציצו או להישו דכבבין ידיען לא מנדלין ולא מתתקנין לון לעלמין.

(Similarly it is hinted in the book of King Solomon where it treats of the science of the precious stones) that if the shine of the spark and glow of certain stars are missing in them they will never grow and develop.

M. A hidden Book of King Solomon, **ספרא נניוא דשלמה מלכא**, is quoted II 70 a as source of a treatise on physiognomy; see Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, p. 971, note 135.

In the interpretation of these passages I have consulted my colleagues Dr. Ginzberg and the late Dr. Kotkov. It is a source of regret that the very important study on the Zohar has been interrupted by Dr. Kotkov's untimely death.

¹⁴ The prophecy is printed in full in Jacob Sasportas **קצור ציצת נובל צבי**, Odessa 1867, fol. 13 a and b and, from MS. Oxford 1777, by David Kahana in *Hashiloah*, II, 327—28; **השבתאים והחסידים**, Odessa 1913, p. 61—62.

¹⁵ *Cat. of the Hebrew and Samaritan MS. in the British Museum*, iii, 1915, p. 71—74.

This book of which only a few MSS. are known was published for the first time in Jerusalem in 1913. The edition covers Genesis and the greater part of Exodus. The British Museum MS. contains Genesis and Leviticus. Here I found the following two quotations which while not likely to have been derived from an authentic text of the Wisdom of Solomon seem to me without doubt to go back to some old Apocryphal text. The author adds the Hebrew translation to the Aramaic text. One of the passages occurs folio 6 a of the edition on Genesis 1 12. It reads:

שמצאתי בספר חכמתא רבתי דשלמה ששנינו שם מייתי מן שאול
תקים דאיתקמלו על רחמך, מייתי מן שאול תקים בגבורתך ה',
מייתי מן שאול תקים דהימנו כך ואולו מיתו, מייתי מן שאול תקים
ותחיה דצפיאו לך ולא חזיונך חיי מן רחיק תייתי בגזירת דמחיית לן
כספיהון ודהביהון עמהון.

(I found in the book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon, where we read:) "The dead thou revivest from Sheol who have been killed for the love of thee; the dead thou revivest from Sheol by thy power, o Lord! the dead thou revivest from Sheol who hoped for thee and saw thee not; bring life from afar by the order of him who reviveth us, their silver and their gold is with them".

The last sentence is not at all clear and the text no doubt has been corrupted. The author interprets the four repetitions to refer to those who were killed during the Egyptian exile and the Babylonian exile adding in this instance the word "who have been killed" so that the sentence would read "the dead thou revivest from Sheol who have been killed for the sake of thy power" instead of "the dead thou revivest from Sheol by thy power". The third sentence he refers to those who were killed during the Hasmonean struggle and the fourth to the Roman exile.

The pronounced belief in resurrection contained in these sentences we find also in the longer and more interesting quotation which occurs a little earlier in our book (fol. 5 a on Genesis 1 5). It sounds like a Messianic psalm and, as the author

informs us, formed the end of the book of the Wisdom of Solomon.¹⁶

וכן מוכח בסוף ספר חכמתא רבתי דשלמה וזה לשונו טאבוי לעמא^a
דישרי בה^b בירושלם דטאבותהון לא יפסוק ויקריהון לא אשתלים ולא
תעדי מלכותהון זיוהון לא יעמי ולא יחשך נהוריהון מלכותיהון קיימא
ושלמניהון לכל עלמין עמא דכדין תוקפיה מה יאה ליה גאותיה מה
רגינ^d שופריה והדיר הוא ושביח לחדא לחדא שביק חטאה לחטיא^e
וחובין כבדין עדו^f בהקרבא לך קורבנא דכייא בתרעיתא דירושלם
משבחין דרייא קדמאי ובתראי לא נשתקון אודין ליה לגיברא^g
ושבחיה בכל פומכון דאפיק לןⁱ מן חשוך סגיא ואנהור לן^j בנהור
עלמא דאפיק לן מן בית אסירי ותבר כבלינן ואיסורינן אקים לן מן
עפרא לרבותא סגיאא אמטי לן מיתנינן מן שאול אקים סהדי לעללי
עלמא אתחדתו פגריהון דגנבורתיה^k עבדוהי לייחדא^l כולהון יהודון
ליה יומם וליליא ולא ישתקון דחדית לן ואקים לן ויקר סגיאא אלביש
לן אסגיא עלאן^m מן טוביה ושייב לן בצדקותיה רבתא נודה ליה
לגיברא דלבר מיניה לית לן ע"כ לשון הספר.

a B לעלמא b B adds פ' בירושלם דבר למעלה c J דהרין d J רגינו e B הוא מכפר
חטאין f B ועיין g B adds מנהון h B לאלהא רבא גיברא i B לכן j B דבנבורתיה
l B לחדא m B עילון.

(And this is evident from the end of the book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon which speaks thus:) "Blessed are the people who died in Jerusalem, whose blessedness will not end, and their honor will not cease; their kingdom will not be removed, their splendor not be dimmed and their light not be darkened; their kingdom is ever lasting, and their rule is for all times. A people whose strength is thus, how fitting for it is its pride, how agreeable its beauty. It is honored and praised very much; sin is forgiven the sinner and weighty offences they remove by

¹⁶ Margoliouth gives the page of the British Museum MS. (14 a) on which this passage occurs. I procured a rotograph of this page of the MS. which is referred to among the *Variae lectiones* under the text with B while J refers to the Jerusalem edition. The beginning of the quotation in another MS. Catalogue Schwager and Fraenkel XI, Husiatin 1906, p. 71, No. 446, literally agrees with B.

sacrificing unto Thee pure sacrifices in the gates of Jerusalem. The early generations praise and the latter are not silent; they acknowledge the Lord, praise Him with all their mouth, Him who brought us out of great darkness and enlightened us by the eternal light, who brought us out of the house of prison and broke our fetters and shackles, and He raised us from the dust, to great glory He brought us, our dead from Sheol He raised as witness unto those who come into the world, renewed are the bodies of them who served His might alone; they all praise Him by day and remain not silent by night, for He gave us joy, and He established us, and with great honor He clothed us, He did much good unto us and saved us in His great charity, let us praise the Almighty, for beside Him we have none”.

This text is interesting in more than one respect. It proves that it cannot have formed part of the Apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. The attitude of this book to the belief in resurrection is still a matter of dispute. But it surely cannot have contained an unequivocal formulation of the belief in resurrection of the body from Sheol such as we find in our fragment. The brief reference to the sacrifices in the gates of Jerusalem sound as if the author wrote at a time when the temple was still in existence. If he had written after the destruction, the hope of restoration would in all likelihood have been included in his picture of the Messianic times. The Aramaic text undoubtedly is a translation from the Greek, for we find repeatedly נברא as a name of God. Now Gibbor, while used frequently as an attribute of God, never, to my knowledge, occurs independently. It is, however, the equivalent of the Greek ἰσχυρός which in Aquila, as Dr. Reider has shown in his *Prolegomena to an Index to Aquila*, p. 30, is the regular translation for El. It is sometimes used in the same way by the Septuagint, see also the Apocalypse of Abraham, chapter 8. The Aramaic is not of a uniform character but here later corruption by copyists is to be expected. The larger piece according to the statement of our commentator is taken from the end of the book and the possibility cannot be overlooked that an extraneous piece might have been added at the end of a copy of the Wisdom at some time or other; but no such information is given about the shorter quotation

mentioned before.¹⁷ The possibility therefore remains that we have before us the remnant of an unknown apocryphal book equally ascribed to Solomon. The Messianic conclusion found in the last chapter of the Psalms of Solomon is quite different from our passage.

Perhaps some one more familiar with this literature can point out parallels elsewhere and define the proper place of our fragment. It certainly is an interesting remnant of apocryphal literature.

¹⁷ A third reference, fol. 54 a of the edition, does not quote any text of the Wisdom.